11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements – in effect, different social and economic structures – there was some land on all reservations which the residents

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lulumawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lulumawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	28	c. 4 ha.
Lemoon	199	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	c. 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private hacendados. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATION	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	255	74	c. 3.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	55	c. 3.8 ha.
Mariqueo	184	49	c. 3.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	15	c. 9 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and pinon nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	c. 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	130	17	c. 3.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	c. 22.8 ha.
Chanapi	1,318	113	c. 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucol	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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Mapuche

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacrería* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the
311 land now in the cercanes of Alonqueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more
[439] enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche
[314] still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautin Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[333] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or other-
[423] wise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
[134] gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil
[242] erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[433] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of radicación much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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Mapuche

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 106, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

Map II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 100 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land.[1] Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[1] [i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
132 cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
622 matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1 i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

***Reservation Alonqueo*: *Roble Huacho Region*.** It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 427 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 [162] Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from [48] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally [241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 433 [183] These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 233 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 311 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

erate with Chileans. However, this accounts fc 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huican has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, hough much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are nly gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all heir cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the toal under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 pe cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, anc animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potat cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of he total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipnent. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-shar basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright bythe inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basi. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sll or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no acumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-á-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[423 In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of
572 adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per
231] household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See CAT. 116, PP. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and [133] soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

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HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(6)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
56	48	(19)	82	181	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

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Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

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Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

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Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of